1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

Power speeches, also, are localized and varied. Each ceremonial "father" has his own set, perhaps learned in his own village, perhaps in another. All are considered equally efficacious, but a neophyte is likely to choose a "father" from his own locality and so perpetuate the local variation. Thus, Anegam has an elaborate set of salt speeches, while the other villages manage with almost none. Komarik and Santa Rosa have war speeches so different that they seem like two halves of a ceremonial whole. The latter village, in fear of losing its ritual altogether, held a mock war raid and initiated two young men, the sons of famous scalpers. The garbled manner in which one of them recited the ritual gave ample illustration of the way in which whole passages may be altered or lost.

Esoteric speeches are couched in "soft words," or standardized circumlocutions which avoid naming an animal or object. Thus, Coyote is "the woolly comrade"; the sun, "the shining traveler"; the stones which hold a pot on the fire are the "three shamans." So far-fetched are some of these expressions that an interpreter with no ritual knowledge cannot understand them. One is reminded of the standardized poetic titles in Beowulf and Homer. However, in the writer's opinion the Papago expressions are not mere metaphor; they may well be related to the taboo against the use of personal names and may be meant as respectful treatment of the supernaturals and even the objects which can influence a ceremony. "Salt pilgrims" carry the attitude so far as to use roundabout terms in ordinary conversation. There is, in fact, a "salt language," parallel to the "war language" of the Apache,[10] and of some Plains tribes. We might hazard the idea that the peaceful Papago have transferred this peculiar form of respect from war to another dangerous enterprise. Nor is it unrelated to the circumlocutions by which many peoples avoid the names of the dead.

A ceremonial speech has not only a peculiar vocabulary but also a peculiar form of delivery. It is pronounced in a low voice and entirely without gesture. Its mumbled words are almost inaudible, but it is given, not for its effect on the audience, but as a magic spell. Nevertheless, there are two distinct speaking techniques. The

[10] Opler, p. 210.

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537 most usual one places extreme emphasis on the last word of a sen-
●195 tence or phrase, generally the verb, while all the others are pro-
×796 nounced in a barely audible monotone. This is used for all speeches except the "wise" ones connected with the salt pilgrimage. The latter are in two parts. The introduction describes the approach, through tobacco smoke, to "Him, my guardian," and is pronounced like the average ritual speech. When the smoke has done its work and the suppliant finds himself before the supernatural, there begins a form of delivery peculiar to the salt ritual. This is the "throwing words," a monotonous panting, in a low voice and on the same [171] note, separating the syllables and giving to each equal value. A similar form of delivery is mentioned among Yuman peoples for all ceremonial speeches, notably those for war.[11]

537 A ceremony may also include an informal speech of admonition
×796 made by some prominent man on the practical phases of the gathering. At the rainmaking feast the people were urged not to misbehave while drinking; at the war preparation they were reminded how necessary it was to avenge their dead relatives. These talks were akin to long monologues addressed by a father to his children and by the keeper of the smoke at the council meeting. Such long-winded sermons were an institution in the area,[12] and they occur as [17] far south as the Aztec,[13] where they are expected to be "a thing rare and elegantly composed—like a precious stone." [14]

With the Papago these talks fall from the high poetic heights of the rituals, and their prosiness shows the impromptu manner of their composition. However, they were not composed anew for each occasion. The same man was appointed speaker from year to year, and he finally standardized his speech, so that ultimately most of his hearers knew it by heart. The style of delivery for these prose sermons was like that of the war speeches, with emphasis on the last word of a sentence, but they were not recited in the low voice of rituals. The audience was meant to listen and the writer has heard them shouted at the top of a speaker's lungs.

[11] Forde, p. 209; Spier, p. 168.
[12] Forde, pp. 28, 209; Maricopa, Spier, p. 156; California, Kroeber, p. 501; Navajo, Apache, Reichard, p. 109.
[13] Sahagún, Jourdanet, tr., pp. 332–90.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 458.

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drunk yearly in order to bring rain, but that there must always be a speech of admonition forbidding the people to quarrel or misbehave when they drink.(1)

The families returned from the cactus camp to the summer villages, where they would do their planting as soon as they had "pulled down the clouds." In old days no planting was allowed until after the ceremony. At present, the villages in the southern part of the reservation no longer hold it, and those in the north hold theirs seriatim, so that one man, if he wished, could attend all in turn.

The date of the festival was discussed by the elders of each village. Then a formal meeting was held at which announcement was made that the festival would take place in four days. Everyone was instructed to bring his share of syrup, within two days' time. At Kaka there was a call from the house tops to this effect:

CALL TO BRING SYRUP

Hurry! Hither bring, each of you, his syrup.
Soon we shall make liquor!
Soon it will ferment,
Soon we shall drink,
Soon it will rain.(3)

Any village which possessed sacred objects brought them from their hiding place and placed them with the liquor during fermentation. Santa Rosa, whose sacred basket contains a long string of eagle feathers, hung them up outside the council house. Pisínimo, which keeps hidden in the desert a basket containing eagle down and various fetishes, sent a man to get this basket and bring it to the ceremonial house. They also sent runners to the related villages, asking for gifts of eagle down and deer tails, which, when brought, were offered to the basket to increase its power. The keeper of the smoke, at the meeting where the festival was announced, gave directions in the verbose, colloquial style which is so different from the recited rituals.

2. Know that you are to appoint youths who will run about to all the houses and request deer tails, eagle down, and beads. One must go to the shaman and summon him to come here in the morning, to

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spectators had gathered, and on one of these the director threw a little corn meal, bidding him summon the villagers. The throwing of corn meal was the ritual procedure for making any request during the preparations. When the audience arrived, the director announced that in four days he would return to open the basket used at this festival.

The four sub-directors could now go home, but the director was placed by the performance in the state of a man undergoing purification. He returned toward his village, and at some point outside it built a small fire and established his retreat. Here he stayed, except when directing the preparations in the village. He must remain sexually continent, must sleep little, and must keep his fire very small, not even blowing it when he added wood. He used only new dishes, which were made for him by a special woman whose office was hereditary. A male helper, whose office was also hereditary, brought the director his food twice a day and poured it into the dishes on the spot. The food was gruel made of the ancient vegetable foods of the Papago: corn, squash, or the wild crops. It must be poured into the director's dish with great care, since spilling brought illness. The director sat in the position of a man undergoing purification, with head bowed and arms folded. He was expected to stay awake until everyone in the village was asleep.

Four days after the first announcement, the five leaders met again and went to Archie to open the ceremonial basket. This was not a village fetish, but a special property of the ceremony, kept at Archie only because that was the place of meeting. The five seated themselves as before. This time the director-general entered the ceremonial house and brought out the plaited basket in which were kept the turkey feather prayer sticks used for the ceremony, some raw cotton used to represent clouds, and the ten tally sticks, which were placed upright in the Archie ceremonial house after the usual Papago custom. One of them would be removed every night until the eve of the feast arrived. This basket, the director held in his arms "as though it were a baby" and then passed it counterclockwise to the other men, who did the same. This was also the procedure used with baskets containing enemy trophies. After each had held it, the director made a ritual speech, murmuring the words in a rumbling tone "to sound like thunder."

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CURING PROCEDURE

755 A family who wanted the shaman's presence sent a messenger to put a little corn meal in his hand. If they planned to pay for his [20] services with a horse or a cow, they might send a bit of manure as a symbol. The shaman arrived after dark and seated himself beside the sick man with the eagle feathers in his left hand and the rattle in his right. A new shaman would not sit near the patient, but at some distance, moving forward gradually during the night of singing.

His songs were not meant to cure the patient, but to induce in himself a trance state in which he could see the cause of disease. They referred to visions of his own, experienced in such a state. All who wished might gather to hear the shaman sing, but it was his object to make his songs unintelligible so that none might share their power. He used a special kind of voice production, known as [195] *kuátkua*, a hoarse croaking, which made the words of his song unintelligible. Often he did not sing the words at all but merely the tune. Each shaman had a different technique in this respect, to which he always held. One singer, heard of by the writer, sang the song through twice without words, then twice with words.(26) Another, at every other repetition, began in the middle of the song.(16) Another always interpolated one repetition with intelligible words.(20) The rattle was moved horizontally when there were no words, and vertically with words.

755 x 539

SONGS DREAMED BY A MODERN SHAMAN[1]

9. Do you see, my younger brother?
Now I sit down.
My gourd rattle I move in a circle;
Evening rushes out.
Yonder everywhere it sifts down.

Do you see, my younger brother?
Now I sit down.
My gourd rattle in a circle I move.
Morning rushes out.
Yonder everywhere it shines. (16)

[1] See Pima songs, Russell, pp. 302–5.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

as he could stand it. The daily discourses of his grandfather conditioned him, even before he could understand the words, to the same virtues required of adults: industry, peaceableness, modesly.

As an adult, he found little difficulty in coming up to the requirements of his society. Acquisitiveness and ambition need not burden him since all had about the same amount of property and prestige was discouraged. He could avoid the demands of war by becoming a shaman or a berdache. The feelings to be suppressed were: extreme ambition, desire for dominance, cruelty, curiosity. He might give a free rein to sex, (though there were a few restrictions for women) to play and to poetic imagination (phrased as the dreaming of songs.) Executives were not needed in a society which ran in such regular grooves, and it was the non-executives and artists who were at a premium.

Granted the form of understatement proper for Papago speech, he might indulge freely in various kinds of expression forbidden by modern society. He could say that he was afraid in battle and most warriors did say so. He could openly express grief and could weep in public. He could admit without shame that others were more intelligent than he. What he could not do was to show anger or stinginess, or jealousy, worst of all to admit that he did not love his relatives.

Almost everyone could live up to these conditions and few acknowledged failure by being driven to suicide or insanity. Two ancient cases of suicide were reported, both for typically Papago reasons: one, inability to bear opprobrium and one the fear of being a burden in old age.

No insanity is reported from former times except that of a shaman who "got too much power, ran around like a horse and died under a cactus." One case known now is being treated by the shaman with a crucifix. Several feeble minded and deformed children are to be seen at present though "we never had them before," and one wonders if the reason was that they were exposed in infancy.

The peaceable ideal was expressed in outward behavior by a constant, smiling calm. Much talking and loud laughter are, even now discouraged and a group of kin, reunited at a feast, take their pleasure by sitting together in smiling silence. When they do speak, it is in a low tone of voice made almost inaudible by the many whispered syllables of the language. Ceremonial speakers use the same tone and a shout is an anomaly even between cowboys in the open.

Facial expression varies between a good humored calm and a

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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PEOPLE ON THE DESERT

Like many other Indians, the Papago are a young people. About 40 per cent of those living on the three reservations in 1942 were under eighteen years of age. The average age of males was twenty-three years and of females twenty-one.[3]

Costumes are not so colorful as those of some Arizona and New Mexico tribes such as the Navaho. Most of the older women wear the ankle-length Mother Hubbard cotton dress with loose blouse used by many older Indian and Mexican women in the Southwest and in Sonora. With this they wear a shawl or *rebozo* usually wrapped tightly around the head with an end hanging down the back, rather than loosely draped and allowed to fall over the shoulders. Younger women and girls wear cotton or rayon dresses in contemporary American style. Fiesta dresses are more colorful, and one occasionally sees the brilliant rayons which added splashes of color to gatherings in former years. Males from the age of one to one hundred wear denim or khaki pants with shirts of cotton for work and bright rayon for festive occasions, kerchiefs about the neck, with brimmed felt hats, and cowboy boots if they can possibly afford them. Some of the educated men have American-style "business suits" for trips off the Reservation. Good clothes, particularly shoes, are bought when there is cash on hand, and a man may spend considerable sums on hats and boots. Even in the conservative western districts of the Reservation, the people buy American clothing, often quite "fancy," for the children and young people. Papago believe clothing should be neat, clean, and modest but not necessarily sober; they all want to "look nice" before other people.

Typically the Papago move with a slow dignity and grace, and only in near-emergency situations does the word "hurry" have any meaning for them. A rider who runs his horse when he is not roping or running cattle is almost certain to elicit the comment, "Oh, he's drunk."

From early childhood the Papago is taught to be quiet, self-contained, and not to become angry. A reserved person whose equanimity is difficult to shake, he expresses opposition or resentment quietly, for he believes in discussion without argument and angry words. He does not ask direct questions or make statements directly; a question is asked through a circumlocution, and answers are given in the same manner. To white people it sometimes sounds like speech in parables, but to a Papago the meaning is perfectly clear. The curiosity of white people often causes difficulty between them and the Indians. Questioning about unimportant things the Papago regard as rather humorous, but queries about their personal affairs seem to them extremely bad taste.

3. Population data from United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Program, Papago Indian Reservation, Arizona*; see also chaps. v and vii below.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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856 by getting the child to take a few steps, and every mother is delighted when her baby starts walking. She beams with pride when she can get the baby to demonstrate the new accomplishment and rewards him with smiles, caresses, and loving words. On the other hand, not much concern is shown if a child seems to be slow in walking, and he is not shamed by his relatives.

Similarly, when he learns to talk is largely determined by the child's own development. The mother usually denies teaching the baby and says that he learned by imitation, though she may coax him by saying a few words and reward him with caresses if he succeeds in imitating her. Children begin efforts at speech at about twenty-two months; by two and a half years they are able to make most of their wants known verbally.

● 195 All Papago use baby talk in addressing a child until he is about five. There-
854 after he is supposed to enunciate clearly and is embarrassed when adults tease him by addressing him in baby language.

863 Cleanliness training is delayed until the child can walk and understand instruction. The infant wears diapers most of the time, and children up to about two and a half years always wear them in public. However, at home the older baby is frequently dressed only in a shirt. Urination in the yard, or even on the dirt floor of the house, is considered no misdemeanor in one so young. When he is about twenty months old, or earlier if he can walk easily, the mother begins taking him into the bushes away from the house and telling him to urinate there. His older brothers and sisters are instructed to take him with them when they go to the bushes, and he learns largely by imitation. He soon becomes aware of the extreme modesty of his relatives during elimination, and by the time he is three and a half or four years old he knows that he is supposed to go to the bushes with members of his own sex.

Mothers say that they do not have much difficulty with cleanliness training. By the time it is begun, the child is old enough to understand directions and to want to imitate his older playmates, and so he learns quickly. That he is perhaps three years old at the time is no cause for concern from the Papago point of view. If the child soils himself or his clothes after this time, his mother will make a face and utter a disagreeable sound, saying "dirty" or "nasty." She tells him that he is dirty and that he must not do that here, and sometimes she warns him that the animals or ghosts will get him.

863 The white woman trader in the West reports that she has seen mothers try
177 to make children of two and a half or three clean up their feces after they had an accident in the store. The women would scold and threaten all the time and then thoroughly wash the children under an outdoor faucet. Since this treatment was not observed in the home, and no mother mentioned having used